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FRENCH REPORT

MUZAFFARABAD—"Why are we treated like that? What did we do? Who has the right to behave like that with us? We want to go back to Kashmir. We want to be free."

I am surrounded by a crowd of people over-excited, yelling in my ears, raising their arms and bustling me. Police officers try to interfere but shouting goes on increasing.

"In the Prophet's name, why do you help these *kafirs,* these unbelievers?" One Pakistani official translated for me some of the curses into English. It is 6 p.m. and the sun already disappeared behind the high mountains overlooking the valley.

We have just arrived in one of these refugee camps hastily set up beyond the Kashmiri cease-fire line to greet the civilians running away from the Indian troops.

A guerrilla warfare has developed in the part of Kashmir held by the Indians, during the two months and since then, for the poor villagers, the victories of the freedom fighters are but sad stories about villages set on fire, raped women and death.

A furious young man takes my arm and tells me the story of his village, Mandi, somewhere near Punch. "The Indians have cut the breasts of our daughters and exposed them, saying: 'Here is your Pakistan.' Seven members of my family have been taken away and slaughtered by the soldiers." He went on with his story with tears in his eyes. Other men continued the story. "They have shut the people in their houses before setting them on fire. The whole village was burnt down."

This morning I visited another refugee camp, which is a little further up North. Here again I heard the same story. One of these miserable men with a beard told me how his village had revolted against the Indians five or six months ago: "Twenty men from our village, Baela Mandi, in the same area as Mandi, took part in the action against the Indian Army."

—What sort of action?

—Shooting the soldiers when they were passing, destroying bridges.

"Eighteen days ago, the Indians launched an attack against our village. After a night, they succeeded in entering the village

burning all the houses, killing everything they saw!" He added that he had succeeded in running away with his wife, his two sons and his daughter. He did not know if anyone else had survived.

A little girl who was about 12 stood near a big man. She was firmly holding him with both hands. The man told me: "We have found her wandering by herself in the jungle. She was looking after the flock when the Indians came and burnt her village. She could just run away, all by herself, without knowing what was happening to her family."

Thousands of refugees are arriving in Azad Kashmir telling the same story. It seems that the Indians are trying to clean up the area on the other side of the cease-fire line by killing or chasing away the villagers.

However, the fighting goes on and last night I heard that the Rajouri area, south of Punch, is now under the control of the Kashmiris who have occupied this little town. For the Kashmiris, there is neither cease-fire nor division between the two parts of the country. "There is no infiltrator," a former Officer of the British Indian Army, who led the revolt in the Punch and Uri area in 1947, told me: "Kashmir is our land and the cease-fire is not our concern. It only divides the Indian and Pakistani troops."

From *Le Figaro,* Paris.
October 1, 1965

BRITISH REPORT (I)

by Rawle Knox

SRINAGAR—The Indian politicians who are now travelling the globe to explain their country's position on Kashmir would have been well advised to start with a trip to Srinagar.

There they would have found students shouting pro-Pakistani slogans, police being pelted with stones and retaliating with rifle-fire, a couple of exploding hand grenades and some mysterious house burnings. Over the weekend after the general strike by all Srinagar Muslims, leading opposition politicians were arrested. Not all this could be learned in Delhi, because Srinagar has a tight censorship of its own.

The "Plebiscite Front" is as active and vocal as ever in demanding self-determination. "Oh, well," say Indian officials somewhat unconvincingly, "this is a democracy, you see." . . .

. . . But a phase that might have resulted in bitterness against Pakistan seems to have caused only deeper bitterness against India. Partly this is due, according to the opposition, to the Indian Army's practice of burning down the houses of those alleged to have harbored the Pakistani *maquis.* Mostly, I suspect, it is due to a deepened sense of frustration.

When Indians say that Mr. Nehru's promise of a plebiscite in Kashmir is nullified by Pakistan's indisputable aggression they seem to forget that this promise was not made to Pakistan but to the Kashmiris. The Kashmiris have not forgotten. . . .

. . . India, in the long run, needs a Kashmir settlement even more than Pakistan. She cannot afford one of the largest armies in the world, with the best part of it locked up on those high Kashmir hills watching Pakistan."

From the *Daily Telegraph,* London.
October 12, 1965

BRITISH REPORT (II)

SRINAGAR, October 24—Srinagar, the eye of the storm that is racking the sub-continent, is quiet but not peaceful. It is a strained quiet, threaded with anxiety, broken by random flurries of ineffective and trivial violence. It is the tense but hopeless quiet of successful repression.

The Government is using all the means at its disposal to quash any agitation for Kashmiri self-determination. The leaders of all Opposition parties are imprisoned, the schools and colleges, from which students had begun to step into the breach, have been closed and all opposition journals are suppressed. The sole remaining weapon of the Opposition is the *hartal,* a strike of all citizens against the Government, and this weekend the authorities began to disarm that, too.

On Friday the *hartal* declared earlier in week was still largely effective, most shops were closed and taxis, tongas and buses were off the roads. That morning parties of police began to break open the shutters on closed shops and when they could not readily do so, to seal the premises. Owners of shops who were not at hand or who refused to attend their shop were threatened with forfeiture of licenses or leases if they were tenants of government-owned buildings.

Even harsher in its immediate effect was the threat reported by numerous shopkeepers that, if they tried to maintain the *hartal,* their ration cards would be cancelled. All staple foods in Kashmir are rationed and to cut them off would threaten shopkeepers and their families with hunger or dependence upon the rationed food of others. That this measure had been threatened was not denied by officials.

The official explanation of the forceful opening of shops is that the *hartal* was being maintained by threats of violence against defectors. It was "force against force" and many of the shopkeepers would be relieved at being made to break the *hartal,* which had been so often repeated in recent months as to bring them near to ruin.

Tactically there may be something to that explanation, although

the foreigner on the streets of Srinagar is constantly hearing whispered, angry complaints about the police actions; and if any shopkeepers were relieved to be forced to open it seems they must have been a tiny minority. But the strategic change is that the Government, which had until recently been ready to allow the peaceful propagation of the demand for self-determination, has now decided to hear no more of it. . . .

So no one is being allowed to talk self-determination or to demonstrate, actively or passively, openly or tacitly, on its behalf. But the contradiction in fact is more profound. When self-determination itself is never to be allowed, as the Indian Government has again and again declared for the Kashmiris, then its propagation must become intolerable the moment it begins to develop into a movement.

Even the overtly pro-Pakistan in Srinagar lay low while India and Pakistan were at war over Kashmir last month. After the ceasefire they stirred, however, and, carrying the moderates with them, attempted belatedly to begin a popular agitation to voice the constant and general demand for self-determination. But they immediately met the Government's unyielding determination to keep Srinagar and other towns in the Valley quiet and it was the intended agitation, not authority or order, which was broken.

The arrest on October 10 of Maulvi Farouq, leader of the most explicitly pro-Pakistan political group, and his associates left the task of leadership to the Maulana Masoodi and others like him who had hitherto been able, like the imprisoned Shaikh Abdullah, to keep something like a middle course. The arrest of the Maulana and about 30 others last week meant that the entire Opposition leadership was behind bars.

Members of the Government here explain the arrest of Maulana Masoodi as the consequence not only of his increasingly pro-Pakistan utterances but also of attempts they say he and his associates were making to give a communal (Islamic, anti-Hindu) turn to the agitation. Communal violence in Kashmir is one thing that with good reason the authorities fear most for the repercussions it could have far beyond the Valley.

Experience has shown, however, that it is only when the religious emotions of the Kashmiris are deeply stirred that they will come out

in mass and defiant support of their political leaders. So, although Maulana Masoodi and some of his associates are anything but communal in their usual attitudes, the logic of their political position may have led them to seize on anything which could add the missing religious fire to the agitation they hoped to build up.

Last Monday armed police entered the Hazratbal Mosque (shrine of the relic of the Prophet mysteriously stolen and returned two years ago) in pursuit of a mob of students which had stoned them and then retreated into its sanctuary. It is claimed that the police broke orders with that action and an official inquiry has been ordered. However, the fact remains that they did violate the mosque. Damage of a trivial kind was done to some of the hangings and lights in the holiest part of the mosque and this desecration (which the police say was done by the students themselves) may have appeared to the remaining political leadership to be the missing religious element they needed.

The action committee led by Maulana Masoodi issued a resolution protesting at the sacrilege, accusing the Government of being "bent on destroying by all foul means the will and determination of the people" to demand self-determination, and declared a *hartal*. The arrests followed.

Since then the violence has been sporadic and undirected. A hand grenade was thrown in the direction of a police post on Friday night and stones were thrown at buses which were disobeying the strike call.

When the police came last night to arrest a student, hot water was thrown over them from the houses, according to a street report today. A welcome arranged for a member of the Government just back from the United Nations seemed to be potentially provocative but passed off quietly.

From *The Times*, London.
October 25, 1965

BRITISH REPORT (III)

DELHI, November 7—The Indian Government extended its efforts to suppress all opposition in Kashmir to Delhi last week when it arrested Miss Mridula Sarabhai, an associate of Shaikh Abdullah and the moderates in Kashmir, and removed her to house arrest in her parents' home in Gujerat.

Miss Sarabhai, the daughter of a wealthy textile family in Ahmedabad, devoted her youth to the independence movement, and was a friend and comrade of the late Mr. Nehru and others of its leaders. Over the past 10 years or more she has been working with equal dedication for the cause of the Kashmiris, and from her house in Delhi had continued to put out information about events in that state which was usually available from no other source.

It must be assumed that it was for such activities that she has now been rearrested—she spent a year in gaol in 1958-59—as with all her associates in Kashmir, such as Maulana Massoodi, already behind bars there could have been little else she could do, and she had already been forbidden to enter the state.

Beyond that, what has taken Miss Sarabhai into conflict with the Government is essentially her attempt to apply to the situation in Kashmir the standards and political values she and others like her upheld during the independence movement.

Miss Sarabhai was arrested under the Defense of India Regulations, the use of which by the Government has been coming in for some criticism lately. These emergency powers have been at the Government's disposal ever since the border war with China in 1962, and have been used for such diverse purposes as removing awkward Opposition members of state legislatures before they could vote to bring down the Government (as once in Kerala), and razing unauthorized slum settlements—under the regulations the inhabitants can have no recourse to court injunctions.

These unlimited powers of arrest without charge, and indefinite imprisonment without trial, have been so energetically used by state governments since the war broke out with Pakistan that Opposition members questioned the Government about it when Parlia-

ment opened last week. One member said that "even nationalists whose loyalty to the country cannot be questioned were clapped [into gaol] under D.I.R. on personal grudges or to suit the political advantage of the ruling party."

One arrest—among about 1,900 made during the fighting with Pakistan—that has aroused critical comment has been that of Mr. A. G. Norrani, a Bombay lawyer, whose loyalty had been unquestioned. He is understood to have written to Shaikh Abdullah offering his legal or other services.

The regulations have also been used to hold three young British tea planters in Assam for the past five weeks. Their crime, described as "action likely to incite a riot," was apparently to inform a posse of local volunteer policemen who asked their identity late one night that they were Field Marshal Ayub Khan and other Pakistan notables . . .

From *The Times,* London.
November 8, 1965

CANADIAN REPORT

By David Van Praagh

SRINAGAR—A police reign of terror has broken the back of the Muslim movement for self-determination among the people of Kashmir.

But it has not solved any basic problems and there can be no doubt it has increased the hatred of many Kashmiri Muslims for India.

Carefully planned action last week by police, many of whom have been brought in from other states, was executed in the name of Indian secular democracy. . . .

The religious implications of a fantastic series of events last week in the Vale of Kashmir cannot be underestimated. The events started Oct. 18 with a police invasion of a mosque where a holy Muslim relic, a strand of the prophet Mohammed's hair, is kept. By Friday, a Muslim holy day, a police curfew prevented prayers at that same mosque, seven miles from Srinagar on peaceful Negin Lake. This is the first incident of the kind in the memory of Kashmiri Muslims.

By Saturday morning, it was clear that police had smashed a hartal or general strike by Muslims in Srinagar in protest against damage to Hazratbal Shrine.

Helmeted, brown-uniformed police took up new weapons to add to their lathis or heavy bamboo sticks, sometimes tipped with steel, .303 rifles and the occasional Sten gun. They used pickaxes to open heavy locks on shops. Many protesting Muslim shopkeepers were told they faced a Government takeover of their property unless they resumed business. Except for a few holdouts on winding dirt lanes of the old city of Srinagar, most complied.

Bus, taxi and horsecart drivers were forced back on the streets by the threat of cancellation of their licenses. Faced with the loss of their livelihood, they drove their vehicles once again, joining police trucks on the streets.

Students, who have taken over the leadership of much of the movement for a plebiscite leading to predominantly Muslim Kashmir's joining Muslim Pakistan, held anti-Government demonstrations Friday at the Jamma Masjid Mosque in Srinagar . . .

Last Wednesday night police arrested the last leaders of the Holy Relic Action Committee remaining out of jail. This committee is a united front of nine Muslim organizations opposed to continued Indian rule of two-thirds of the disputed former state of Jammu and Kashmir. Maulana Mohammed Sayed Masodi and Ghulam Mohiuddin Karra, two of the top leaders seized and sent to a special jail in Jammu that formerly held Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, are recognized as moderates who tried to restrain students last August when Pakistani infiltration of Indian-held Kashmir began.

The day before he was arrested, Karra contended in an interview that the police deliberately desecrated Hazratbal Shrine—a charge the Government specifically denies—after being taunted by stone-throwing, slogan-shouting students at the front gate. He also said people in many parts of the Vale of Kashmir had been terrorized.

New leaders for the Holy Relic Action Committee and one of its main components, the Plebiscite Front, have been announced. But the committee's offices have been ransacked, locked and guarded by police, making it unlikely the committee can operate effectively.

Authorities are planning to reopen Government schools this week but a 9:30 p.m. to 5:30 a.m. curfew remains in force. This curfew is announced over loudspeakers on police trucks carrying riflemen who glare grimly at people along the streets.

The ostensible operations center for thousands of police in the Vale, where bright reds, yellows and purples of autumn flowers somehow pale into insignificance beside brown police uniforms and the dark olive army dress, is a low brick building well back from the road. There top police and civilians meet almost every night to plan their next moves.

But the real center is the second-floor bedroom of Durga Prashad Dhar, Home Minister and strongman of Kashmir. Mr. Dhar, who is in charge of all police in the state, is considered more powerful than Chief Minister Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq, a former Communist who went to New Delhi and stayed there after anti-Government demonstrations started in the Vale during the weekend of Oct. 9.

I saw Mr. Dhar twice last week. The first time was to protest police confiscation of some film, the general mistreatment of two Western reporters at Hazratbal on Oct. 18, the action of the state Government in stopping a dispatch telling what had happened at the mosque and the arrest on Oct. 19 of a student guide, Bashir Ahmed.

Mr. Dhar, a suave Kashmiri Hindu in his 40s, was fully dressed at that early evening meeting in a suit, tie and sweater. On a small table in front of him was a book entitled The Meaning of Yeats—one of many anachronisms encountered in Kashmir. On the wall above, hung a pen portrait of the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, who was a Kashmiri Brahmin.

At the second meeting, shortly after noon three days later, Mr. Dhar wore rumpled white pajamas. He was unshaven and his hair was toussled. He helped himself to some little pills as we talked.

First, he repeated assurances that Ahmed would be released and the film returned, neither of which has been done. Then, to the ironic accompaniment of Kashmire birds—including a raucous crow that sounded at times like a jeering section—singing in his flower garden outside his window overlooking the mountains, Mr. Dhar admitted there were two versions of what had happened at Hazratbal. For this reason the Government had ordered a judicial inquiry, he said.

He said police had been given strict orders not to enter the shrine but added: "It would be almost expecting an angelic virtue of police for them not to respond to student taunts."

The Government said broken glass and other damage around the relic was caused by students throwing stones at police from houses in the mosque grounds. As a result of the Hazratbal incident, Mr. Dhar said, "the Holy Relic Action Committee wanted to re-enact the days (in early 1964) when the holy relic was stolen. (It was later returned.) The Koran was exhibited in processions as a facade for hooliganism and paid Pakistani agents."

Mr. Dhar went on: "The game became dangerous when the appeal was not to reason but to religious fanaticism."

Asked whether he intended to smash the action committee once

and for all, he replied: "Of course. I don't know why it continued after the last time. It became a platform for obscurantist moolahs (Muslim holy men)."

Asked whether the crowds might not become more unruly without the moderate leaders Masodi and Karra, Mr. Dhar said that while Karra is reasonable, Masodi was a retrograde moolah. It was Masodi who called for an immediate plebiscite during the incidents at Hazratbal on Oct. 18.

Following its undeclared war with Pakistan, secular but predominantly Hindu India has reiterated its refusal to accept a plebiscite or any other political settlement that would endanger its grip on the best part of Kashmir, four-fifths of whose 5,000,000 people are Muslims. Mr. Dhar called a plebiscite a Nineteenth Century idea.

Asked whether pro-plebiscite leaders will be released eventually, he said, "We have not banned the Plebiscite Front and their leaders are not jailed for eternity."

The Government said it arrested 24 others with Masodi and Karra in addition to five leaders arrested two weeks ago. Police officials said only five or six students have been arrested. Unofficial estimates of arrests range up to 150 last week with more than 250 in jail already.

According to official figures, five persons were killed in violence, all before Oct. 12. The Government listed only 15 injured policemen in the Hazratbal incident. Students say 10 to 12 of their number have been killed since August, including a 14-year-old student who they say was shot along with a professor two weeks ago.

The number of injured is impossible to determine, but persons inside the mosque said 30 were hurt at Hazratbal, in addition to 25 police. They said police looted and burned shops inside the mosque grounds and three policemen opened fire with rifles.

Mr. Dhar and other Government officials say Pakistani infiltrators contacted students, gave them arms and inspired them to violence. "We are mujahids (Muslim freedom fighters) and there were no infiltrators," the students declare.

But while I feel that students may have gone out to fight with infiltrators, it appears likely that most who are defying the Govern-

ment with shouts of Long Live Pakistan and Our Demand? A Plebiscite! were inspired only indirectly through the emergency resulting from fighting over Kashmir.

The slogan that hurts New Delhi most is Indian Dogs, Go Back!, for what is happening in Kashmir is an Indian tragedy as well as a Kashmiri tragedy, not to mention a tragedy for Pakistan in failing to win the border state.

India has held on to the Vale by physical force but in so doing it has underlined the fact that Kashmir is an occupied state, a place where the people and the police regard each other coldly as enemies (though many Muslim police manage to make clear where their hearts lie). It is a place where India's secular democracy has broken down and almost a colony of India that the people of India know very little about.

The most obvious irony is that the most beautiful valley in the world is so troubled.

From the *Globe and Mail,* Toronto
October 27, 1965

GERMAN REPORT

by Klaus Natorp

SRINAGAR—Driving through the narrow lanes of the Muslim quarters in the old part of Srinagar is an adventure even under normal conditions but today the almost continuous hooting, with which cars try to negotiate through crowds of people and animals across large stones and deep ditches, is drowned by the shouted choruses: "We want plebiscite," "We want plebiscite," repeated again and again by a huge excited crowd. Suddenly, the police rush out of a side lane and belabors the demonstrators with *lathis* and rifle-butts. In a second, the crowd has dispersed, leaving behind a collection of sandals and shoes lost in flight. Curses shower down on the Indian guardians of peace (the Punjab constabulary) from the lookouts of surrounding houses, and the police menacingly aim their guns.

In the meantime, the column of protesters has formed again somewhere else and resume their chant: "We want plebiscite," "We want plebiscite." Occasionally the word "Pakistan," is also roared, which enrages the police even more. Again and again, they advance against the crowd which, however, mostly manages to escape through some side lane or the other, only to reassemble minutes later behind the backs of the police.

We finally manage to reach the house of Maulvi Mohammed Farouq, but the conversation is frequently interrupted by loud demonstrations beneath the window. The sudden patter of bare feet on the stairs announces the success of some of the demonstrators to force their way into the house. With a dramatic gesture, two men deposit another, who was beaten unconscious by the police, at the feet of Farouq, and loud curses are uttered against the "Indian barbarians." Other co-workers of Farouq begin to arrive, among them Bashirudin Ahmed, who calls himself the Grand Mufti. Both of them invite us to attend the afternoon demonstration in the Jama Masjid.

This is easier said than done. The crowd immediately surrounds the car and drums the plebiscite rhythm on the roof. "They don't

mean any harm," says the driver. "They only want their cause to be known, and hope that every foreigner will tell the world what he has seen here."

Entering the mosque is very difficult. Because the police have concentrated strong forces in the vicinity of the building, an American journalist on his way to the protest meeting is not allowed to proceed. "Too dangerous," says the officer in command. Moreover, permission should first be obtained from the Deputy Commissioner, but the latter says it is not his province to do so. The American gives up and leaves. We get in through the back door.

Inside, a tremendous crowd is assembled. Ten thousand students and older men give the stranger a hearty welcome, and he is made to sit cross-legged on the platform next to the most prominent speakers. Like all electrical installations in India, the loudspeaker is whimsical. Whenever it decides to function, it is tested with the battle cry: "Our demand?"

Back roars the reply from thousands of throats: "Plebiscite."

The shout travels across the walls and falls unpleasantly on the ears of the Indians. The meeting is over and hundreds of people take the stranger into their midst to the main gate where exit seems to be easier. Outside some youths have begun to throw stones at the police, who take cover behind the stone balustrade, in the "no-man's land." Between the demonstrators and the police a few critical yards have to be negotiated, because the stones keep flying. Later a regular street battle develops at this spot.

The police see no other way but to use their guns. One dead and two injured were the victims of this clash, according to the Home Minister. Those who were present say that many more victims had been lying off the road.

For Farouq and Bashir the meeting in the Jama Masjid was the last of this kind for some time to come. A few hours later they were arrested together with three other opposition politicians.

From the *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, Frankfurt
October 19, 1965

AMERICAN REPORT (I)

by J. Anthony Lucas

NEW DELHI, October 21—Thirty leaders of the Kashmir self-determination movement were arrested today in Srinagar, Kashmir's summer capital.

Among them were Maulana Sayed Masoodi and Ghulam Mohiuddin Karra, who are the principal leaders of the movement's "moderate" wing.

The arrests, carried out before dawn, virtually wiped out the movement's leadership. Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, the leader of Kashmir's Muslims, is under detention in southern India, and five other important leaders were arrested 12 days ago.

Today's action apparently reflects the serious view the Government is taking of the mounting unrest and violence in Srinagar. It was carried out under the Defense of India Rules, which give the Government authority to detain persons indefinitely without trial during times of "emergency."

Officially, the Government here gave no reason for the arrests. Authoritative sources said the men were detained to "prevent them from stirring up more violence in the state."

Press reports from Srinagar quoted Anwar Karim, commissioner for the Kashmir division, to the effect that Mr. Karra and Mr. Masoodi had "increasingly encouraged rowdyism and violence in the last few days."

The sources here said the Government had "ample evidence" that the men had been maintaining close ties with Pakistani infiltrators who crossed into the Indian-held sector of Kashmir in August and precipitated Indian-Pakistani border fighting. Pakistan maintains that they are local opponents of Indian rule of the area.

In an interview last week, D. P. Dhar, Kashmir's Home Minister, said the Government had no evidence that Mr. Masoodi and Mr. Karra were guilty of such collaboration. He described their behavior as "responsible." This, he said, was why they were not arrested when the Government detained five other leaders Oct. 10.

Mr. Dhar said the Government had reliable evidence that the five men arrested then had been collaborating with the Pakistani

infiltrators and with radical pro-Pakistani students in Srinagar. Kashmir, a predominantly Muslim area, has been in contention between Muslim Pakistan and India, which though a secular state is largely Hindu, since the subcontinent was partitioned in 1947.

Although no evidence has been made public to support the Government's charge that the men arrested Oct. 10 collaborated with the infiltrators, it does appear that they gave at least tacit support to radical students who have been demonstrating, shouting pro-Pakistani slogans and throwing stones at the police in Srinagar for several weeks.

As late as last week, Mr. Masoodi and Mr. Karra said in interviews that nonviolence was the only way to bring about a plebiscite or some other device to allow the Kashmiris to determine their political future.

However, there were indications even then that they might be reconsidering their strategy, which had led some students to denounce them as "stooges" of the Indians. Sensing that their positions of leadership were threatened by the radicals, they may have made new gestures of support to the students.

Some indications of a more radical stand came Monday, when the two men spoke before a large crowd at a Srinagar shrine. Following the meeting and a ceremony showing a relic revered as the hair of the Prophet Mohammed, students and policemen clashed in a two-hour riot in which stones were thrown by both sides.

Witnesses say the police invaded the shrine and remained inside for about 45 minutes. The next day Mr. Masoodi and Mr. Karra charged that policemen had beaten several persons in the shrine and had broken electric fittings and ornaments.

"This unwarranted and heinous act of sacrilege by the police has wounded beyond imagination the religious feelings of millions of Muslims," they said in a statement . . .

The others arrested today included Khwaja Ghulam Mohiuddin Hamdani, secretary general of the Plebiscite Front, and Khwaja Mobark Shah, a leading member of the Plebiscite Front and a close associate of Mr. Masoodi . . .

From *The New York Times*
October 22, 1965

AMERICAN REPORT (II)

by J. Anthony Lucas

SRINAGAR, Kashmir—The Indian Government is seeking to destroy the Kashmir self-determination movement with virtually all the means at its disposal.

In the last few weeks, the Government's policy has shifted from a selective pruning of the movement's most radical elements to all-out suppression.

The large Indian police and Army forces in the state have been used liberally to break the back of the movement's organization and to dissuade its members and sympathizers from further activity. . . .

The prisons and jails are crammed with those who demand a plebiscite to determine Kashmir's future.

Sources in New Delhi have said the Government has evidence that the members of the movement have maintained close ties with the infiltrators who crossed into Indian Kashmir in August and precipitated the border fighting between India and Pakistan. Pakistan maintains that the infiltrators were local opponents of Indian rule.

India, which controls two-thirds of Kashmir, has consistently opposed a plebiscite, arguing that the state is an integral part of her territory. Pakistan, officially a Muslim nation, controls the rest of Kashmir and demands a plebiscite. She believes the Kashmiris, most of whom are Muslims, would vote for separation from India, which is predominantly Hindu.

In the last two weeks, all the movement's leaders and many of its second-string and third-string organizers have been arrested.

Officially, the Government says it has arrested 34 leaders and lieutenants during this period. They include such men as Maulana Sayed Masoodi, one of the top leaders of the Holy Relic Action Committee, which coordinates the movement's activities; Mirwaiz Farooq, the chief priest of Kashmir's Muslims, and Ghulam Mohiuddin Karra, leader of the Kashmir Political Conference.

The Government also says it has arrested 115 students who took a leading role in the anti-Indian agitation here. It says 50 are still in jail and the others are out on bail awaiting trial.

In all, the Government says, there are about 425 political prisoners in Kashmir's prisons and 100 more persons out on bail awaiting trial.

Many of those now in jail, including most of the top leaders, will probably never stand trial.

They have been arrested under the Defense of India Rules which give the Government authority to make arrest and detain prisoners indefinitely without trial during periods of "emergency." The present "emergency" has lasted since the Chinese Communist invasion in 1962.

The few leaders of the movement and its affiliated student groups who could be reached here this weekend contend that the Government's figures on arrests and detentions are on the low side.

Sources in the self-determination movement say 52 leaders and important officials of the movement were arrested Thursday, not 29, as stated by the Government. The students say more than 200 fellow students have been arrested.

According to a list compiled before last week's demonstrations, the students arrested included 63 from the regional engineering college; 30 from the medical college, 23 from Islamia College; 20 from Amar Sir Pratap College; 30 from Singh College; 21 from the Government Women's College and 5 from a higher secondary school.

At first, the Government said that it had arrested only those who took part in violent demonstrations against the Government or who made "inflammatory speeches" designed to stir up anti-Indian feelings or "communal [religious] rivalry."

However, a high-ranking Government official said here today that "in the present circumstances" mere forceful advocacy of self-determination would probably be enough to get a man arrested.

"In theory," he said, "we would like to permit free speech and open opposition. In practice, we are now so convinced that the movement is being led and controlled by Pakistan that we must deal with it effectively."

Arrests have not been the only actions. Mujahid Manzal, the unofficial headquarters of the self-determination movement, has been searched and sealed. Visitors are turned away by armed policemen.

Last Friday, policemen and soldiers blocked all roads to the

Hazratbal shrine, turning away thousands of Muslims who tried to go there for their weekly worship.

Srinagar Muslims said it was the first Friday in 350 years that there had been no worship at the shrine. The Government said it had had to take the unusual action to prevent a repetition of the violent demonstrations that took place at the shrine last Monday.

Action has also been taken to prevent Muslim merchants in Srinagar from showing support for the self-determination movement.

In recent weeks, most of the Muslim merchants have kept their shops closed in a *hartal* (strike) to protest the arrest of the movement's leaders and to demand a plebiscite.

Yesterday, policemen using long steel poles pried open the locks on many shops in downtown Srinagar to force the merchants to open for business.

Other merchants were warned by the police that unless they opened their shops the Government would confiscate their ration cards, which they need to buy rice, wheat, flour and wood.

The high-ranking official said today that these actions had been taken in an effort to break the *hartal,* which he said was proving disastrous for the city's economic life. . . .

The Government has taken other measures to prevent open demonstrations in support of the movement.

All colleges and other educational institutions in the city have been closed. Some students have been permanently expelled—the students say 110, but the Government says "much fewer."

Some Muslims who are Government employes face dismissal. They are among the employes who demonstrated Thursday near the Government secretariat building to protest the arrest of the movement's leaders.

Several of the employes will probably be dismissed and others will be punished for having violated orders prohibiting Government employes from taking part in political activities, the official said.

The police have also begun strict enforcement of a regulation that prohibits the gathering of more than five persons without prior permission. Policemen waving long, steel-tipped clubs, called lathis, frequently break up groups on the streets.

The Government has also taken steps to prevent news of the unrest and its countermeasures from reaching the outside world.

Several correspondents who tried to transmit articles on the situation from here last week had the articles returned by the cable office marked "objectionable."

One high-ranking official in the state government said, "We are not going to let any news out of here which is not favorable to our position."

The above dispatch was carried by plane from Srinagar and transmitted from New Delhi.

From *The New York Times,*
October 25, 1965

AMERICAN REPORT (III)

by James S. Keat

NEW DELHI, November 4—Miss Mridula Sarabhai, veteran social worker and former associate of Mohandas Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, was placed under house arrest today for her political activities in Kashmir.

Miss Sarabhai, a former general secretary of the ruling Congress party before independence, was arrested at her home here last night. She was deported today to her family's home in Ahmedabad.

She has been associated for the past twelve years with Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the former Kashmiri Premier, who is himself under house arrest in South India.

During his brief spells of freedom since 1953, Abdullah has been the leading exponent of what he calls self-determination for Kashmir. He has never made clear what result he would urge if a referendum were held. Miss Sarabhai's arrest completes the detention of prominent opponents of Indian rule in Kashmir.

Both pro-Pakistani politicians and those who, like Abdullah, are more moderate in their opposition to Indian rule are now all confined in one way or another.

Like most of the others confined, Miss Sarabhai was arrested by administrative action under the defense-of-India rules, which empower the Government to put persons in preventive detention without trial.

She is confined at the home of her family, wealthy industrialists in Gujarat State, and is prohibited from communicating with anyone without police permission.

Since September Miss Sarabhai has been forbidden to enter Kashmir. She was unable, therefore, to make inflammatory speeches or otherwise stir up trouble there if that had been her wish.

Actually her role in recent years has been that of aide to Abdullah. Her home in the most fashionable section of the capital was a hostel for Abdullah's associates. Abdullah's wife and other relatives were there when she was arrested.

If anything, Miss Sarabhai might have been acting as a relayer of messages from Abdullah, whose wife is permitted to visit him at

his place of confinement at Kodaikanal, Madras State, and those few associates not in jail.

Unlike virtually all opponents of Indian rule in Kashmir, Miss Sarabhai is a Hindu. She devoted most of her life to the Gandhian movement and became the chief administrator of the Indian National Congress in 1946 when the late Prime Minister Nehru was its President.

Miss Sarabhai, who is in her mid-fifties, still wears the homespun cotton garments which were the uniforms of the Indian independence movement and remain the favored garb of Congress party politicians today.

Associates said she attempted unsuccessfully to see Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Vice President Zakir Husain yesterday after plainclothes police appeared outside her home. President Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan was not in the capital yesterday.

They said, she had protested the decision to confine her to her parents' home because they are in poor health and might be disturbed.

When the order was not modified to confinement somewhere else in Ahmedabad, associates said, she refused to go willingly and had to be carried from the house by policewomen and onto a regular airline flight at Palam Airport here.

Miss Sarabhai became involved in Kashmiri affairs as a social worker who had specialized in caring for women and children during the partition riots here in 1947.

When violence spread to Kashmir she became active there and began her association with Abdullah, also a close colleague of Gandhi and Nehru, who became the State's first Chief Executive. . . .

. . . Officials in Kashmir have explained the arrests by saying those detained have been stirring up trouble in a state which remains on a war footing. The state remained relatively quiet during the guerrilla war in August and subsequent full scale conflict between India and Pakistan, but has been rocked by sporadically violent demonstrations for the past month.

Most of the demonstrations are manned by college students, who have on occasion stoned police. Businesses have closed in protest, and mobs have assaulted police. . . .

. . . Abdullah favors a free election in Kashmir to determine its political future. His followers maintain that the present regime now headed by Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq gained power in rigged elections.

"If Sadiq would allow free elections with a secret ballot," one of Abdullah's followers said today, "he could choose any constituency in the State. We would run our peon (office messenger) and if Sadiq won we would give up the struggle."

Indian officials believe Abdullah's objective is an independent Kashmir under his rule. They regard such a state as an invitation to continued trouble and attempts at subversion which would make its survival impossible.

One of Abdullah's followers said today that an independent Kashmir could not survive without a guarantee of its borders by India, Pakistan, China, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. Even then its existence would be precarious, he admitted.

Abdullah's followers contend that roughly 1,000 persons have been arrested in the state in the last three months. A Government spokesman here put the figure at 174, of whom 110 were students. The spokesman said there had been no political arrests in Kashmir until after the cease-fire with Pakistan September 23.

[The *New York Times,* June 15, 1965, in a dispatch from Srinagar, reported: "Leaders of the self-determination movement contend that there are more than a thousand (in jail). The Government says it is fewer than 300."]

Although most of the anti-Indian elements in Kashmir are Muslims, the disturbances seem to have been remarkably free of the religious rioting which has broken out there in the past.

A religious tone entered the disturbances after a fight between police and a mob outside the Hazratbal Muslim Shrine at Srinagar. Some of the rioters popped in and out of the shrine and the police finally went in after them.

Muslims then protested that the shrine, the holiest place for Kashmiri Muslims, had been desecrated. Masoodi and Karra were arrested two days later after they made strong speeches criticizing the Kashmir administration.

From the *Sun,* Baltimore
November 5, 1965

AMERICAN REPORT (IV)

by J. Anthony Lukas

NEW DELHI, November 6—The Indian Government took another step this week in its effort to crush the Kashmir self-determination movement.

It has already imprisoned all the movement's leaders in Kashmir, and it has now detained Miss Mridula Sarabhai, the movement's most prominent spokesman in New Delhi.

Miss Sarabhai, a spinster in her early fifties, was arrested Wednesday evening under the Defense of India Rules. The rules give the Government authority to detain persons indefinitely without trial during times of emergency.

On Thursday, the police took Miss Sarabhai by plane to her native city of Ahmedabad, 500 miles southwest of here, in Gujarat State.

A Home Ministry spokesman said today that she had been ordered to remain in her family home, The Retreat, and not to leave it without permission from the police.

The detention order gave no reason for the action. No explanation is required under the Defense of India Rules.

The spokesman said there had been no immediate provocation for Miss Sarabhai's arrest. However, he said the Government had been watching her activities for some time and had decided that she should be detained "in the interest of the country's security." He did not explain what he meant by her "activities."

Miss Sarabhai is not a Kashmiri. The daughter of a wealthy Hindu industrialist from Ahmedabad, she took an active role in the Congress party's campaign for independence from Britain. She was a close friend of the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and other leaders of the independence movement.

After India won independence in 1947, she transferred her energies to the campaign for self-determination in Kashmir. Two-thirds of that divided state is Indian territory, the rest Pakistani. It was the Indian-Pakistani dispute over Kashmir that led to the recent border war between the two countries.

Miss Sarabhai became a close associate of Sheikh Mohammed

Abdullah, the leader of the Kashmiris, who was detained under the Defense of India Rules in May.

In recent years Miss Sarabhai has acted as the movement's unofficial representative here, circulating information on the case for a plebiscite in which Kashmiris could decide their own future. In 1958 she was arrested and kept in a New Delhi jail for a year.

In 1959 she was banned from Kashmir. The ban was lifted last year and reimposed in August.

According to friends, Miss Sarabhai was first informed of her imminent arrest this week when plainclothesmen were posted around her house in this city's Chanakyapuri district Wednesday morning.

She was allowed to leave the house in an effort to make an appeal to Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, but she failed to see him. At 7 P.M., the police served her with the detention order.

Three policewomen escorted her to a room in her house and remained with her, the friends said. She was not allowed to talk with anyone else, they said.

Miss Sarabhai wrote a letter to the Superintendent of Police urging that she not be sent to Ahmedabad because her parents were old and ill and it would be a strain on them to have the police around the house.

She asked that she be detained somewhere else, but Thursday morning the superintendent told her that her request had been turned down.

She refused to move, according to her friends, and policewomen lifted her into a car and then the plane for the trip to Ahmedabad.

From *The New York Times*
November 7, 1965